Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

The Pourtraicture of His Sacred MAJESTIE In his *Solitudes* and *Sufferings*.

Rom. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed *Anno Dom.* 1648.

Immota Triumphans
Clarior è tenebris
tali Specto
Beatam et Æternam
Gloriæ
Asperam at Levem.
In Tuo Verbo Spes Mea
Gratia
Christi Tracto
Crescit Sub Pondere Virtus
Splendidam at Gravem.
Vanitas
Mundi Calco

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Upon

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

1 *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advise, and necessity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings, and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in o-

ther men, so I resolved they shoul
find least of them in My self; n
doubting, but by the weight of Reaso
I should counterpoize the over-ba
lancings of any factions.

I was indeed sorry to hear, wit
what partiality and popular heat El
ctions were carried in many places
yet hoping that the gravity and di
cretion of other Gentlemen would a
lay and fix the Commons to a du
temperament, (guiding some men
wel-meaning zeal by such rules o
moderation as are best both to pre
serve & restore the health of all State
and Kingdomes:) No man was bett
pleased with the convening of thi
Parliament, then My self; who know
ing best the largenesse of my own
Heart toward My Peoples good an
just contentment, pleased My self mo
in that good and firm understanding
which would hence grow between M
and My People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, Ma
own and My Childrens Interests gai
me many obligations to seek and pre
serve the love and welfare of my Subc
ject

houſects. The onely temporall bleſſing
; what is left to the ambition of juſt
eaſoMonarchs, as their greateſt honour
-baind ſafety, next Gods protection; I
ared not to leſſen My ſelf in ſome
withings of My wonted Prerogative;
Elsince I knew I could be no loſer, if I
acesmight gain but a recompence in My
d diſub ects affections.
d al I intended not onely to oblige My
a difriends, but Mine enemies alſo: ex-
menceeding even the deſires of thoſe, that
es were factiouſly diſcontented, if they
prdid but pretend to any modeſt and ſo-
tatober ſenſe.
etre The *odium* and offences which
thſome mens rigour or remiſsneſſe in
owChurch, and State, had contracted
owupon My Government, I reſolved to
anhave expiated by ſuch Laws, and re-
nogulations for the future, as might not
ingonely rectifie what was amiſſe in pra-
Mctiſe, but ſupply what was defective
in the conſtitution: No man having
Ma greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled,
gaand preſerved in Truth, Unity, and
preOrder, then My ſelf; whom it moſt
Subconcerns both in piety, and policy;
ect

as knowing, that, No flames of civ
dissentions are more dangerous tha
those which make Religious prete
sions the grounds of Factions. Th

I resolved to reform, what I shou
by free and full advice in Parliame
be convinced to be amisse; and
grant whatever my Reason and Co
science told Me, was fit to be desired
I wish I had kept My self within tho
bounds, and not suffered My ow
Judgement to have been over-born i
some things, more by others Impo
tunities, then their Arguments; M
confidence had lesse betrayed My sel
and My Kingdomes, to those advan
tages, which some men sought for
who wanted nothing but power, an
occasion to do mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe, there wa
no preventing of Gods Justice, fro
reaping that glory in our Calamitie
which we robb'd him of in our Pro
sperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us se
that Resolutions of future Reformin
doe not always satisfie thy Justice, no
preven

revent thy Vengeance for former miſ-
arriages.

Our ſinnes have overlaid our hopes;
Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy
mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe
to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory
by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed
us, how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon
preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee;
Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore
thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo
much abuſed, as toforce thee to deprive
us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our
ſinnes, Thou giveſt us cauſe to repent
of thoſe Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not Repent of My calling
this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord,
I did it with an upright intention, to
Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued up-
on Me and My Kingdomes, are the Juſt
effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and
may be yet (through thy mercy) prepa-
ratives of us to future bleſſings, and
better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us

of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitly better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with Our ſins.

O thou ſoveraigne goodneſſe and wiſdome, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels; over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy War, ſo let this War

War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdomes here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Straffford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise man envious exhalations, which con nsed by a popular *odium*, were c pable to cast a cloud up-

on the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any highth and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people; I was perswaded by those, that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdomes with men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my

my Judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which as a ſign of my repentante, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtiſe, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calme the ſtormes of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own beſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh, (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likely hood, I could never have ſuffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had

I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at leaſt by denying to Sign that deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſign that Bill, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me; not to conſent againſt the vote of My own Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more wel-come, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice, before all enjoyments, and

and the peace of my Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affaires, against the advise of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not Condemn him

to

to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, & do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loth ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoyding publick miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity,

that

that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been shed in this unhappy War; wch some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose my own.

But thou, O God of infinit mercies, forgive me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so farre, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud-guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcom me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects

my

my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soul, for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which speaks better things; O make me, and my People, to hear the voice and Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation.

3. *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives,

motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legall Triall, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroil my Kingdomes: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then

then either to do Me, and my Kingdome right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though I fought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witnesse: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict.

Nor

Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectours of their Laws and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who if guilty of evil machinations; no preſent impunity; or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which ſhall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pitie.

But to over-aw the freedome of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all my deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on my ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſſe in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearch-

ſearching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſinne, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy ſervant from the privy conſpiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightneſſe of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintain my right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy ſervant may ever rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

2. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought auy thing (except our ſinnes) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſchiefs, which have fol-

followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so tis no lesse, that he restrains the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my self and my Court. Nor

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, and laſt to command and overaw the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſedicious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted,

abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinit ſhame aud ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolarated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publick good, then obtained by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſutable engines

gines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd if what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Pattones of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance. God in his due time will let these see that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My self and some of both Houses; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their onely security consisted in vulgar flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours

Nor could ever any order be obtained impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser States men) owned them as friends commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about seeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

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Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is my sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter; I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majesty of my Place

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I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood, with Gods blessing, migh have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdome most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who pulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, and laſt to command and over-aw the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſedicious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted,

abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancied.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinit ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolarated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publick good, then obtained by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſutable engines

gines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My self and some of both Houses; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their onely security consisted in vulgar flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours

Nor could ever any order be obtained impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

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Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity for any man for popular terrours to deſert his publick ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, & gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

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meditated a War, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Person, and Conscience from violence) God knows I did not think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakened My self, If I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is my sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter; I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majesty of my Place

and Person, the safety of my Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have object and opportunity most capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders will in time make thoſe men, and that Citie, ſee their ſin in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election & Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting as in all reaſon, honour and Religion they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as *I* could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Councels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

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But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I look upon My sins, and the sins of My people, (which are the tumults of our souls against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbear all the banks of loyalty, modesty, Law, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst assuage the floud which drowned the world, by thy word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudeness and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of order and counsell.

What man cannot, or will not represse, thy omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense & sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let Shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passion by Reason, to our errours by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duely executed, and to our schismes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, *a Citie at unity in it self.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament. (which had in Me no other design but the Generall good of My Kingdomes.) I willingly passed the BILL for Tri-

enniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three Years; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity that they will needs make work rather then want it, and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and compasse publick affairs; I was perswaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hope for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies, and future mistakes: I confesse

confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalleld by any of My Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which *I* declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny my ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lies more than any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preſerved no leſſe than my Subjects; which is all I de-

fired. More than the Law gives me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act: and many would needs perſwade me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honours. That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by my largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſſe me with increaſe of it: when Men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleared affections of my people will strive to return such retributions of Honour, and love to me, or My posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of my confidence and my suffering for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictnesse.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of my own and my Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsly divulge) *I* repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undo what by my Royall assent *I* had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of mind in me, so far to bind my own hands

hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though *I* had then a ſenſe of injuries; yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure my ſelf by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if *I* had juſtly recented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately

lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that my self, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sin, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for me to go about the cutting of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too, in all probability: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of my own heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem lesse a Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the Pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation

ptation to them to caſt me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelf, together with me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preſerved me, and made me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſſions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a ſin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judge-

Judgement: onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

To thee (O my God!) do I still appeal, whose All discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised Mine own; and by settling them, have unsettled My self.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this dark and

and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits My return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe My acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My ſelf may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Me.

I beſeech Thee give Me and them ſuch Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as we may not abuſe.

Make Me ſo far happy as to make a right uſe of others abuſe, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon My offences againſt Thee.

So, although for My ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporall bleſ-

bleſſings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

6. *Upon His Majeſties retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſſe I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced to Sea by a ſtorm; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame more than fear; to ſee the barbarous rudeneſſe of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reaſon, and Conſcience to deny any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the

the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedome.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldome of one mind; and I may oft ſee that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate minds, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure & ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure

Sure it ceases to be Counsell; when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to what ever tumultuary patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedome; which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me onely to God, so farre as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its subject in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My self as King, or the House of Peers with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People with the House of Peers have Chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Propositions, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurditie they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others: without having power left him, to uſe his own reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if my diſſentings at any time were, as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacie in Me (which not true judgement of things but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on my mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe; and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of his Errour and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute or the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man who ſeriouſly

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its subject in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My self as King, or the House of Peers with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People with the House of Peers have Chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Propositions, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurditie they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others: without having power left him, to use his own reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were, as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activenesse, weakenesse, or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obstinacie in Me (which not true judgement of things but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenesse; and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of his Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute or the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man who seriously

ouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at ſea cannot ſee the Poleſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force to carrie on the weakneſſe of their Councells, and Propoſalls. I may, in the Truth and uprightneſſe of My heart, proteſt before God and Men; that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houſes, Further then I thought in good reaſon I might and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe Me more, then when My Judgement ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea, in many things where not abſolute and morall neceſſitie of Reaſon,

ſon, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be conſidered. I choſe rather to denie My ſelf, then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſarie for My Peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My ſelf.

For I can be content to recede much from my own intereſts, and Perſonall Rights, of which I conceive My ſelf to be Maſter; but in what concerneth Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the generall good of my Kingdomes; (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me:) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conſcience I denied before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various,

and

and oft contrary dictates of any Fashions; when in stead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to perfer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdome and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so farre to denie our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries and commands, that we should believe and obey rather and dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoyneſt us to trie all things by the touch stone of Reason and

Laws,

Laws, which are the rules of civil Justice; and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to denie my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposall.

O Let not the unthankefull importunities, and tumultuarie violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous & and unmanly slaverie, which should make Me strengthen them by My consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glorie, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of my own dutie to Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they presse upon me, rather then commit the least sin against my Conscience.

Let the just liberties of my people be (as well they may) preserved in fair, and equall waies, without the slaverie of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions and designes, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviors sake.

7. *Upon the Queens departure and absence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cause to be troubled at my Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet

yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſitie, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for her ſafetie: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine,

Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firm to their former setled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage *Indians*; while their rudenesse and barbaritie knows not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some mens subtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault is, that she is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands Me, to studie her Security, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safetie in the midst of My Personall dangers, that I can perish but half; if she be preserved: in whose memory and hopefull Posteritie, I may yet sur-

vive

vive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with my bloud.

I muſt leave her and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his Protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafetie, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyaltie: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

Tis pittie ſo noble and peacefull a ſoul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her virtues ſhine with greater luſtre, as as ſtarres in the

darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envi-
ous world, that ſhe loves Me, no
My fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily for-
give, ſince We do not much blame
the unkindneſſe of the Generalitie, and
Vulgar; for we ſee God is pleaſed to
trie both our patience, by the moſt
ſelf-puniſhing ſinne, the ingratitude o
thoſe, who having eaten of our bread
and being enriched with Our bounty
have ſcornfully lift up themſelves
againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own
Houſhold are become our Enemies.
I pray God lay not their ſin to their
charge: who thinke to ſatisfie all ob-
ligations to duty, by their Corban of
Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee
then to ſin againſt their benefactors
as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of my Ene-
mies is ſo far veniall, as it was neceſſa-
ry to their deſigns by ſcandalous Ar-
ticles, aud all irreverent demeanour
to ſeek to drive her out of My King-
domes; leſt by the influence of her
example, eminent for love as a Wife
and Loyalty as a Subject, ſhe ſhould
have

have converted to, or retained in their love and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of Her virtues, while *I* enjoy My self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly Enemies, and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give and accept the sincerities of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou would
have us to know, in order to thy glory
our publick relations, and our ſouls eter-
nall good, and make us carefull to d
what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is ne-
ceſſary to be known, or unbelief, or diſ-
obedience to what we know, be our mi-
ſery, or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of thoſ
my Subjects, which profeſſe the ſam
Religion with me, be any hinderanc
to her love of any Truth thou would
have her to learn, nor any hardening
her, in any errour thou would ſt hav
cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens conſtanc
be an Antidote againſt the poyſon
their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I pro
feſſe, be repreſented to her Judgement
with all the beauties of Humility, Loy-
alty, Charity, and Peaceableneſſe
which are the proper fruits, and orna-
ments of it: Not in the odious diſ-
guiſes of Levity, Schiſme, Hereſie, No-
velty, Cruelty, and Diſloyalty, which
ſome mens practiſes have lately put up-
on it.

Lo

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as Thine; that ſhe may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, our onely Saviour, and ſerve thee in all thoſe Holy duties, which moſt agree with his holy doctrine, and moſt imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatneſſe in our ſcatterings and Eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

8. *Upon His Majeſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams,

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſ-

loyalty, that My greateſt enemie had ſcarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could bear the Loſſe of My Kingdomes.

God knows, it affected me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelf; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly conteine themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to overſpread the whole Kingdome, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyall undertakers: That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then

the

the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, though it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignitie of his carriage, to doe or say any thing, unbeseeming My self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming neerest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of the one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the

the humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproched, unthreatened, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the Conscience of his own wickednesse, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after payes his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts

with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsfull to them, ſhould not find mercie enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancie: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo far pitied him; as I thought

thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I many other men do in the same Cause

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowrnesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgement that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means, they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion; who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was, I think, a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my mercy, who could

as

as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelbele characters of infamy, the name and

and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightening of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousnesse, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and

and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

9. *Upon the listing and raising Armies against the* King.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *Whitehall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that *I* may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, be-

because they have not reason where-with to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage, they confesse their known weaknesse, as to truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that *I* am to receive for those many Acts of Grace *I* have lately passed, and for those many *I* have endured? is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdome, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which mighe escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevish-

viſhneſſe of others envying the publick ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of my ſelf either to injuriouſneſſe or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud duriug My Reigne have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſneſſe? what Widows or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Canon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vain is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of word, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Juſtice is alledged for this Warre againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfet of peace, and wantonneſſe of minds, or of private diſ-

con-

contents, Ambition & Faction (which easily find, or make causes of quarrell) then any reall obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid & answer before God in My own Conscience, however some men are not willing to believe Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *Whitehall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, (the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but onely to oppresse both Mine and the Two Houses freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's*

(death

death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressours, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedome so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard and tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedome and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: *I* know no man so dear to Me, whom *I* had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence accordi-

to Law (*I* think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point *I* could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this *I* did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom *I* wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedome.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations, and Votes to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by

the

the desperate activity of factious Tumults ; to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the busines of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by farre the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismatical Terrours, which could never, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over awed.

To which Partiality, while in Reason, Justice and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard My own, and my Kingdomes ruine, by my Defence; or

ſtrate My Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it; Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in My judgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrickt and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My Conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the leaſt ſin hath more evil in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with my conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government, and

Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, & Honour for My sake, and the Common weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdome. That I cannot adde my consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civil Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled. This

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a Warre, being onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in my own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load me with all the envy and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Mem-

bers of either House might with Honour and Freedome, becoming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that *I* designed by my withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then *I* retired; this being my necessity driving, the other my choise desiring.

But some men knew, *I* was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which *I* carried with me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited me to come, and grievously complained of my absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults; and their Exciters, which drave my self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing

willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the *Injuries* of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the *Injuries* of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Army againſt me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer *Innovations*, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the Warre was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was; and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my conscience, (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as *I* was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) *I* find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this Warre, on my side, *I* do not think my Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am *I* without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse my Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of human affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design or preparation to embroyle my Kingdomes in a Civill War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects bloud, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy Warre; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War,

will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable Warre; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroy My Person, or force My Judgement, and to make me renege My Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids *choise, and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldst damn Me.*

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My bloud will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the Bloud of My Innocent and Peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not onely a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, and the sins of my People, whom I beseech thee still own

for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know what they do.

10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst onely pray for Me, at first, might witnesse, which yet appear not so many on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Me; My unpreparednesse for a War may well dis-hearten those that would help Me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for me, that I am set on the defensive part, having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my self, or to preserve what is mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their

their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against me, and surprisalls of my strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; so overaw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my Innocency, and unpreparedness to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their esteem, who would not so easily have declared a War against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew my chiefest Arms left me, were those onely, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navy, with the Militia, is so far best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, aswel as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to

be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, and opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me, I am above my own, what I want in the hands of Force and Power I have in the wings of faith and praier.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to my Friends, and a Terrour to my enemies by being unable to succour the one, or suppresse the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets*

mets Tomb, by a magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power, which ſome have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraign power in Subjects ſeldome agreeing with the ſtomacks of Fellow ſubjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their fears, and importunities, both to ſecure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my ſelf of a ſole power to help or hurt any; yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to my ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and my People; if I had the ſole actu-

all

all disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my people, further than they protected me, and themselves, so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evill merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the cuttody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my subjects, since power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against Me and Them; that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted the publick safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be Enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights, in point of power;

er; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to my Successors, forbid me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civility, and duty (no lesse then justice & honor) should have forbad them to have asked of me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipse my own beams, to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to my Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions which must

must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to foresee; so they will find it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darkness and Eclypse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from me) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem my receding so much from the use of my Right in the Power of the *Militia* to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for my Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so

it

it may seem) who compell me to take this new and strange way of discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it, of protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill Warre and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from Me,

Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Arms and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more than all to me: Make hast to succour me, thou that never failest them, that put their trust in thee. Then

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgments oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto mee.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deli-

deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul!

By my ſinnes have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayſt thou, by my own Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

II. *Upon the* 19. *Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too deare a rate save onely the parting with My Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conscience; 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making warre upon My soul.

Here are many things required of Me,

Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Mee on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have any Mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require

require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at ſometime to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my ſelf to a generall and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins*

ſtini might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeems an arrogancy, leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting

all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last, God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so *I* might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that *I* am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty

of My own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*, and whose forwardnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not

not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command My Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customes preterlegall, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by My self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendred to me, wherein the advantages of my Crown being considered by them, might fairly induce me to condiscend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of My self, whom nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, it is impossible to preserve my People according to my Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentialls of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient & universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws disjointed,

ed, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reaſon Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo, puniſhable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Laws againſt them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper in which thoſe are wrapped up to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in fit the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the

the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitours, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designes, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My Judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction

for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than *I* ſee cauſe; for, *I* look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their liverv, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect my own judgment, for not ſpeedily & fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and

and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want; so tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdome such a compleatnesse & inerrability as to exclude my self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Hon ur to preserve as my self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdome, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableneſſe of some Propositions is not more evident to me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in my two last famous Predecessours daies, hea-

ved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar. Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State com-

command me, to chew such morsells, before I let them down; *If* the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and *Injustice* both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, that nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, and the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how Potent soever; for this were to nourish

nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdome is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in my Understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse than a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedome is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech. Shall

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to me their KING, *which thou hast given to all men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves: while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.*

To Thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou

Thou that makeſt the wiſdome of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their own devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their conceits, make me wiſe by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own ſouls ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The leſſe wiſdome they are willing to impute to me the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſneſſe, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconſiderate advancing any mens deſigns, which are iniurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my conſent.

Nor let me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is beſt, by any moroſe or perverſe diſſentings.

Make me ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their adviſe, when it appears to be for the Publick good, of whoſe affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to aſſure me.

Thou

Thou canſt as well bleſſe honeſt errours, as bleſſe fraudulent counſells.

Since we muſt give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of thoſe ſolemn Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greateſt influence upon the Publick, either for wo or weal.

The leſſe others conſider what they aſk, make me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing; yet Lord, never ſuffer me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expenſe or waſte of my Conſcience; whereof thou O Lord, onely art deſervedly more Maſter than my ſelf.

12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcern the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed,

Indeed, that ſea of bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious Authour or Inſtigatour of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappy advatage to ſome mens malice againſt me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelf, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with my privity (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, aud Perſon too; yet all this while to pretend, they

fight

fight by Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds

grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open

open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and Jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſigns they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*; Whoſe tears and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered

thoſe

those sparks of Civil dissentions, and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been lesse affected with *Irelands* sad estate then my self; *I* offered to go my self in Person upon that expedition; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here lesse then my self; or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs musts needs be: who either hindred the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick dissentions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebells to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Resolving to

destroy

deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither life up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) un-evangelicall Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown

drown, them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knows with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Integrity, that ſo might

might neither incourage the Rebells Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false, and evil, than love or charity to what

is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so farre to try my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to my own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks do out of a fornace; Much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickednesse, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsly say. And I hope I shall still do better then they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroyl my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, or think) *I* look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhausted out of my own veins; no man being so much weakned by it, as my self; And I hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Warres to sheath it self: his mercifull justice intending, *I* trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure: the abatement of our sinnes, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abused and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christi-

ans unlesse we crucifie one another
Because we have not more loved th
Truth, and practised in charity, tho
hast suffered a Spirit of Errour an
bitternesse, of mutuall and mortall hi
tred to rise among us.
O Lord, forgive wherein we have sin
ned, & sanctifie what we have suffered
Let our Repentance be our recovery
as our great sins have been our ruine.
Let not the miseries I and my King
domes have hitherto suffered seem sma
to thee: but make our sins appear
our consciences, as they are represente
in the glasse of thy judgements; for tho
never punishest small failings with
severe afflictions.
O therefore, according to the multi
tude of thy great mercies, pardon our
sins, and remove thy judgements whi
are very many, and very heavy.
Yet let our sins be ever more grie
ous to us, than thy judgements; an
make us more willing to repent, than
be relieved; first give us the peace
penitent consciences, and then the tra
quillity of united Kingdomes.
In the sea of our Saviours bl
crim

drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own bloud bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make Me ſhare in all My Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproches caſt upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſsion; Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdomes.

O reſcue and aſsiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ireland, whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.

And lead thoſe in the waies of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and deſpitefully

have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruell and desperate Warres.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneus with the Malicious; Thou that hadſt pitie on Niniveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is as fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the fornace of thy ſevere juſtice a Poſterity, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deal with Me, not according to mans unjuſt reproches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities if I have not earneſtly ſtudied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloudy diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough

of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies; spare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before my own interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre

from letting any mans ingratitnde, or inconstancy; make me repent of what I granted them, for the publick good I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Parl into *England*, with an Army, one to conform this Church to their la New modell, cannot but seem as un reasonable, as they would have though the same measure offered from hen to themselves.

Other errand I could never under stand, they had, (besides those com mon and vulgar flourishes for Religio and Liberty) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had se by making this Church to write afte them, though it were in bloudy Cha racters.

Which design and end, whether i will justifie the use of such violen means, before the divine Justice: I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain be-

being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the onely just reformation, and setling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraign State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successefully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do *I* know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Ar-

my, might not easily have removed. Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conform to the *Scots* pattern before ever they could be heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Scholars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain most on mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least

urged

urged with ſecular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemns mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Churchmen in *England*; who being alwaies bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practiſe, onely becauſe that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force aſſiſt a like Party here, either to drive all Miniſters, as ſheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them; at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* ſole Presbyterie were proved to be the onely inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects Commiſſion by the Sword to ſet it up in any of my

Kingdomes, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paid to the chief Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a party of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was so planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacie, which with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse of Ambition of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army

Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemn obtestations, and pious threatnings, but onely this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries or a War; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seeks to suppresse and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-government, and specially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rationall

and

and Religious motives, then Soul-diers use to carry in their Knap-sacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many waies (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above my Own; and the salvation of mens Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they first have gained my consent, and resolved, both my Own and other Mens Consci-

ences

ences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyall, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle my Religion; nor any mans elſe, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is force; the arbitratour of Beaſts, not of reaſonable men, much leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and loyall Subjects in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe, that have ſome temptation of gain, to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in againſt my will, and their forfeiture of ſo many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred, how thoſe here, could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance; who ſo much pretended Gods cauſe to the People, as if they had

had the certainty of ſome Divine Revelation; conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea, My Forts, Caſtles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the Juſtifiableneſſe of their doings, and deſigns before God, never think they have humain ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancie that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into aſſiſtance; others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of

ſo

so chargeable, more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed government and discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendome for their advice in a full and free Synod which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially setled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; In vain do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those coſiderations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from

from me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despair of their return; when besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My self to God.

The Troubles of My Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying

betraying of My Conſcience, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah and Iſrael, to reſtore David with as much loyall Zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and cagerneſſe purſue Him.

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in Me, and I ſhall not deſpair of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not My enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute My Soul.

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. Upon

Chair and Authority (though Laymen go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to my self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear morall necessity; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment, and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charm and exorcisme be cast out of this Church after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair

sentings too, in matters only probbable.

The enjoyning of Oathes upon People must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath an Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*: since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politick and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacy fast to their Parties under the terrour of perjury; Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised

vised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or president from God or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best designs, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under the title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their known

and

and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out theſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factions and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: When formalities o extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the

the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after ligaments they find the Imposers really aiming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall waies seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven; as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it:

They

They admit any mens senses of it, the diverse or contrary; with any salves, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not their chief Design which is laid against the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease of their Party: So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God*: for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which

which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full & lawfull Authority at first to enjoyn it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers,

as disposed them to sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgements, profession, and practice; such foul scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that *I* have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home, all whose judgements *I* cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advise) be, by Gods Word, and right reason, convinced to be amisse, I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequele of some mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been mor

more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights than the Bishops, and Church-men. These, as the fattest Dear, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboths* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can rivert onely to the Crown with my Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeces-

fours hath given to God and t
Church, but all other addition
Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, *I* hop
drive Me or Mine to invade or sell t
Priests Lands, which both *Pharao*
divinity, and *Josephs* true piety abho
red to do: So unjust *I* think it bo
in the eye of Reason and Religion, t
deprive the most sacred employme
of all due incouragements; and li
that other hard hearted *Pharaoh*, t
to withdraw the Straw, and incre
the Task; so pursuing the oppress
Church, as some have done, to the r
sea of a Civill Warre, where nothi
but a miracle can save, either It, o
Him, who esteems it His greatest T
tle to be called, and His chiefest glo
to be *The Defender of the Church, bo*
in its true Faith, and its just fruition
equally abhorring, Sacriledge, and A
postacy.

I had rather live as my Predeceſſor
Henry 3. sometime did, on th
Churches Alms then violently to tak
the bread out of Bishops and Mini
sters mouths.

The

The next work will be *Jeroboams* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray to God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans

ſinne not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as *I* would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publick Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addreſſe My prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretenſions of Picty and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious ravines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy

Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and

and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these

Designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdomes so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and barrer down their loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures;

adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errours, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loy-

all

all injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable; in this onely they ſuffer more then My ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of

of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquility, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happinesse; if it could expiate, or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries

ſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leiſure to anſwer the many falſe Aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me

Did I not more conſider my Subjects Satisfaction, then my own Vindication, I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authours to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandalls, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds so bad reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible

ſible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of my ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the

the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon me, and my People.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations

dations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed: In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some *Papists*, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameneſſe of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second, they ow to me in Common, as their KING; diffe-

different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessarie use of Papists or any other, who did but their dutie to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and

(and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evil Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsell that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man, or honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if *I* liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties My self, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church & State.

The

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either me or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorrie to see me prone even to injure my self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergie; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my either Retractations or Concessions, and withall, hath deprived all those

those (now so zealous Persecutours) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar, and which indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian patience, which attends humble and injuried sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw my peoples affections from me to their designs, was the noise and ostentation of libertie, which men are not more prone to desire, than unapt to bear in the popular sense, which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest libertie be to will what men should, and to do what they so will according to Reason, Laws, and Religion; *I* envie not my Subjects that libertie, which is all I desire to enjoy my self; So farre am *I* from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me so prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes

to

to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſigns over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow, whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and protection, others their Menacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction, loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeeks an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws both Di-

ving

vine and Humane, under which, yet I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humilitie and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraigntie, which is the onely King of mens Conſciences, and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men libertie to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence,

as

as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principall) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentifull Estates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproches, which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so My reputation shall like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath sufferred to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull God will do me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe, and evil ſpeeches againſt Me; wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) that thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to God and me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evill of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, ſhould not Honour their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath

hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſinne ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veils be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among Lyons, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworn together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſonnes of men turn My glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt My Enemies prevail againſt

me, and lay mine Houour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; The Lord will abhorre both the bloud-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on* David *he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me happy to refute, and put to silence their evill-speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiahs *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.*

Let Sheba's *seditious speeches,* Rabshekahs *railing, and* Shimei's *cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.*

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſeeled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdome or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People than to tel them They ſerved God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to wch I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly

ly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set & prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being known & fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a wel-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he praies to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well beforehand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what

what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and disgestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant & originall pattern of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions, in Publick prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall & superficiall tempers, (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety; & very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions; Nor is God

more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, than un-premediated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, & humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, & that so much pretended Spirit of prayer)

er) than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe & ſhew) the affectatious, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, & flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of

Publick

Publick composure; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, order, and gravity, becoming those duties; which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity. How-

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those Innovations (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refused to use it, cried out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and cause is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penal-

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ty, any to use the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious liberties, which freedome, with much regret they now allow to me, and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve me, whose abilities even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away

away the Liturgie; or to displease some Faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Praier-book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of me in their own forms, instead of praying for me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to set Forms of sound and wholsome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same

same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou dencst us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our Petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others,

others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errour consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety, and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formalty.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

17. *Of*

17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houses in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, and shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; *I* see no

no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſwhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his conſcience.

I muſt now in Charitie be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late years the tumultuarineſſe of People, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under ſpecious titles of

of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrary to the full and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charitie be supposed that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one example can be produced of any settled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose

Whose constant and universall practise agreeing with so large and evident Scripture directions and examples are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of welbeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authoritie in them as President-Bishops above others in point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same

Epistles;

Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*, as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humilitie of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger or one sent,*) to the speciall dignity wh ch had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill use, (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant,

power

power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authoritie) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancie to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound Doctrine, and clear Testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and

fierce

fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture Canons and Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to me as to recompence the injuries and losses, I, & my dearest relations with my kingdoms have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrel. And

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall practiſe the beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more Believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely God, who appointed ſeverall orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdome (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied ſo many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government,

which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that *I* conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdome and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Churchmen; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can *I* see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government, which

which is paternall, not Magisteriall: and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion; which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for their: And I find they have, as farre lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and practise of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least, rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for

many retain Bishops still) whom ne-
cessity of times and affairs rather ex-
cuseth, then commendeth for their in-
conformity to all Antiquity; I could
never see any reason why Churches
orderly reformed and governed by Bi-
shops should be forced to conform to
those few, rather then to the Catho-
lick example of all Ancient Churches,
which needed no Reformation: And
to those Churches at this day, who
Governed by Bishops in all the Chri-
stian world, are many more then Pres-
byterians or Independents can preten
to be; All whom the Churches in My
three Kingdomes lately Governed by
Bishops, would equalize (I think) i
not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisd[illegible] or
charity, where Christians differ, [illegible] as
many do in some points) there to wi-
den the differences, and at once to give
all the Christian world (except a
handfull of some Protestants) so grea
a scandall in point of Church-go-
vernment; whom, though you may
convince of their Errours in some
points of Doctrine, yet you shall never
per-

perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo farre doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church government had any free aud impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practiſe, againſt their obedience

to the Laws in force, and againſt M
conſent, have not onely quite cry
down the Government by Biſhops; b
have approved and incouraged the vi
lent and moſt illegall ſtripping all t
Biſhops, and many other Church-m
of all their due Authority and R
venues, even to the ſelling away, a
utter alienation of thoſe Church-lan
from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes: So gre
a power hath the ſtream of times, a
the prevalency of parties over ſo
mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudd
and ſo totall change, little reaſon c
be given, beſides the *Scots* Army c
ming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will
laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors
Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt
nemies to, and Betrayers of their ow
intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo co
ſiderable or effectuall, as when it
joyned to, and crowned with Epiſ
pacy. All Miniſters will find as gre
a difference in point of thriving, b
tween the favour of the People, and
Princes, as plants do between bei
watered by hand, or by the ſweet a
liberall dews of Heaven. T

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poore carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhorre.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also

enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their virtues so much, as by that of their Estates. Poverty and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed My good intention made My errour veniall: and some Bishops, I am sure I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian

byterian parity, which makes all Ministers equall; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastours below the People.

This for My judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as some men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of My Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other waies: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congrega-

tion, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other

me

men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of GOD, (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfullnesse of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly caluminate) I could soon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledge and Perjury?

Perjury? besides the many personall Injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon & Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church, Tis ſtrange My lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and

and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our souls; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think my self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions; till I shall be forced to consent and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my Soul abhor; as many waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give my consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacie.

Nor can my late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church government, be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me, to consent to

to the like in my other Kingdoms, For it should be considered that Episcopacie was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in this; for what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yeelding to them, as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath my yeelding to them been so happy and successefull as to incourage me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be biassed, or forestalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot

from

from them gain the least reputation for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose paterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in my Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make me believe either Presbyterie, or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacie in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive and uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with Tyrannie, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And

And in this integrity both of my Judgement and conſcience, I hope God will preſerve me.

For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by violence, to be overborn againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pity, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, *yet*

yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boar, and subtill Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING *in this Kingdome, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meeknesse, than expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable

men,

men, whose counsells have brought forth and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace, thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the King.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men, whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted

wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of my Reason, than my Sword: *I* was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither my self nor others should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did *I* ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with Expresses of my desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity to *seek Peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend my self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all Warre by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill Warre uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe *I* had ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by me as any man; though

though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was, Mine Honour, and My Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applied themſelves to it with the ſame moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as farre as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, would give me eave; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſentiall to my Peoples happineſſe, or of ſuch conſequence; as in the leaſt kind to have hindered my Subjects either ſecurity or proſperity; for they better enjoyed both many years, before ever thoſe demands were made, ſome of which to denie, I think the greateſt Juſtice to my ſelf, and favour to my Subjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allaied, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, muſt be made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to en-

joy

joy in peace, or to loſe in warre, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affairs, where I had leaſt libertie of prudence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo farre to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſneſſe, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might ſeem to advance true piety; I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall pattern, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without

out any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacie, and fighting against me) must needs argue such a softnesse and infirmitie of mind in me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-successfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I beleeve, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to my people, than the preservation of my own Crowns to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as Arguments of feebleneſſe, and glory most in an unflexable stifneſſe, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwaies to ask ſomething, which in reaſon and honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of Warre; endeavouring firſt to make me deſtroy my ſelf by diſhonourable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee, how little *I* would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publick peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of mine: *I* have alwaies the content of what I offered, and they the regret, blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treatie, nor the loweſt lobe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſign of true vaſour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce

our

our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part presage the unsuccesfulnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self; who wantest not Power, or Justice

deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Clear up our underſtandings, to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit.

19. *Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded Me variety of Good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to trie me with Victory, by worsting my Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is onely the mighty *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those, that fought against me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part he let me see that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My Cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement

both of them, and me: Nor were my enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility which was began by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oft times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Theſe with me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to my juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me; or againſt

me, in the point of raising Arm

Those on the other side are forc
to flie to the shifts of some pretend
Fears, and wild fundamentals of Se
(as they call them) which actual
overthrow the present fabrick, both
Church and State; being such ima
nary Reasons for self defence as
most impertinent for those men to
ledge, who being My Subjects, w
manifestly the first assaulters of me
the Laws: first by unsuppressing
Tumults, after by listed Forces: T
same Allegations they use, will fit a
Faction that hath but power and co
fidence enough to second with t
Sword, all their demands against t
present Laws and Governours; whi
can never be such as some side or oth
will not find fault with, so as to u
what they call a Reformation of th
to a Rebellion against them; some
rastick Preachers have dared to c
those Martyrs, who died fighting
gainst me, the Laws, their Oaths,
the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, Th
glorious Title, can with Truth be
pli

lied onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church and my self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their Souls.

Their wounds and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their Enemies brutish and disloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them

of; or without Repentance hope enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against my side in the Field, but never, I believe, at the barre of God's Tribunall, or their own Conscience, where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons both from Law, Allegiance, and true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in desperate bravery to fight against the Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, *I* make no question, but is infinitly more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein the and mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how

false and un-intendended those preten-
sions were, which they first set forth, as
the onely plausible (though not justifi-
able) grounds of raising a War, and
continuing it thus long against Me,
and the Laws established; in whose
safety and preservation all honest men
think the welfare of their Country
doth consist.

For, and with all which it is farre
more honourable and comfortable to
suffer, then to prosper in their ruine
and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My
side might joyn true piety with the
sense of their Loyalty; and be as faith-
full to God and their own souls, as
they were to Me. That the defects of
the one might not blast the endea-
vours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews,
or truth of piety on the other side were
sufficient to dispence with, or expiate
the defects of their Duty and Loyalty
to Me, which have so pregnant convi-
ctions on mens Consciences, that even
profaner men are moved by the sense
of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which w
without My sorrow, because it was
mine own Subjects, who like *Ab*
lom, died many of them in their sinn
And yet I never suffered any Defea
which made me despair of Gods me
cy and defence.

I never desired such Victories,
might serve to conquer, but onely
store the Laws and Liberties of
people; which *I* saw were extream
oppressed, together with my Right
by those men, who were impatient
any just restraint.

When Providence gave me, or de
nied me Victory, my desire was no
ther to boast of my power, nor
charge God foolishly; who *I* believe
at last would make all things to wor
together for my Good.

I wished no greater advantages b
the War, then to bring my Enemie
to moderation, and my Friends t
peace.

I was afraid of the temptation o
an absolute conquest, and never pray
ed more for victory over others, than
over my self. When the first was de-
nied,

nied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in Warre: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparedneſse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of my Innocency forbade me to fear a Warre; but the love of my Kingdomes commanded me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing but in this, That *I* gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, *I* had been more obeyed.

Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish onely a further happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sinnes was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another for, the most prosperous successes of either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable that leave our sins un-subdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Warres, that I may know better to obey God and govern my People, and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

No

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those

evils

evils which they compell me to inf
upon them; punishing my self in th
punishments.

Since therefore both in conqueri
and being conquered, I am still a Su
ferer; I beseech thee to give me
double portion of thy Spirit, and th
measure of grace, which only can
sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make
most reformed: that I may be not on
ly happy to see an end of these civil di
stractions, but a chief Instrument to re
store and establish a firm, and bless
Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stirre up all Parties pious ambiti
ous to overcome each other with reason
moderation, and such self-deniall, a
becomes those, who consider, that ou
mutuall divisions are our comm
distractions, and the Union of al
is every good mans chiefest inte
est.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of ou
peace, thou hast brought upon us th
miseries of warre; so for the sinne
of warre thou shouldst see fit still t
deny us the blessing of peace, and so
kee

keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the bloud of my Subjects, which with infinit unwillingnesse and grief, hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious bloud, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jesus Christ. Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: For, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me

me so far, as to make me an Instrument of so good a work, yet *I* should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion setled which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinit scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolations of all Order and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schismes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in sacred administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and persecuting

secutings of me, have followed, (as showers do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and with my self, sad Spectatours hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal; and the publick sense, so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen;

sen; nor act in the name of all th
Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom
& impartiality can do any thing, bein
limited and confined, if not overawe
to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many m
cried up for learning and piety, wh
formerly allowed the Liturgy and Go
vernment of the Church of *Englan*
as to the main, would have so sudden
ly agreed quite to abolish both of the
(the last of which, they knew to be
Apostolicall institution, at least; as
Primitive and Universall practise)
they had been left to the liberty
their own suffrages, and if the influenc
of contrary Factions had not by secr
encroachments of hopes, and fears, pr
vailed upon them, to comply with
great and dangerous Innovations
the Church; without any regard
their own former judgement and pr
ctise, or to the common interest an
honour of all the Clergy; and in the
of Order, Learning, and Religion
gainst examples of all ancient Chu
ches; the Laws in force, and my co
sent; which is never to be gained,

gain

gainſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on my underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctuall in precepts, there the conſtant and Univerſall practiſe of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Presbitery, what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacie; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbitery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſells; and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſigns? which no doubt

doubt many of them by this time dis
cover, though they dare not but smo
ther their fruſtrations, & diſcontent

The ſpecious and popular titles
Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepte
and Kingdome (which certainly is no
divided, nor hath two faces, as the
parties now have, at leaſt) alſo th
noiſe of a through Reformation, the
may as eaſily be fined on new models
as fair colours may be put to ill-f
voured figures.

The breaking of Church window
which Time had ſufficiently defaced
pulling down of Croſſes, which we
but Civill, not Religious marks; de
cing of the Monuments, and Inſcri
ptions of the Dead, which ſerved be
to put Poſterity in mind, to than
God, for that clearer light wherei
they live: The leaving of all Miniſte
to their liberties, and private abilitie
in the Publick ſervice of God, where
Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſa
Amen, nor what adventure he ma
make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſe
to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ri
diculous Undecencies, which bo
an

and ignorant men lift to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The setting forth also of old Catechismes, and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly and discontented then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs,

chiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make their Unanimous work, to do God's work, and not their own. Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State fixed by so many Laws and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of Civil Warre; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my self and all my Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome and charity in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good

the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designs as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, For next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects. Christs Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it, since as I own mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truely intended Christs

Christ's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſſe, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beautie for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be means to reform what is indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us, that we may all do by thy direction,

to thy glory, and with thy blessing. Pitie the deformities, which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming. As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravitie of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements, so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations: wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacrilege, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull waies shall entrust with so great good, and saw most necessary work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward pietie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

II. *Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of

of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civilitie to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiment of virtue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my papers; The freedome and secresie of which commands a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publick view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I studie to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dressings, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches, and

Expresses;

preſſes; *I* wiſh My Subjects had yet
dearer ſight into My moſt retired
oughts:
Where they might diſcover, how
y are divided between the love and
I have, not more to preſerve my
n Rights, than to procure their
ce and happineſſe, and that ex-
m grief to ſee them both deceived
deſtroyed.
Nor can any mens malice be gra-
ed further by My Letters, than to
my conſtancy to my Wife, the
ws, and Religion. Bees will gather
oney where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.
That *I* endeavour to avoid the preſ-
es of my Enemies, by all fair and
t correſpondencies; no man can
me, who loves me; or the Com-
on-wealth, ſince my Subjects can
rdly be happie if *I* be miſerable, or
oy their peace and liberties while *I*
oppreſſed.
The world may ſee how ſoon mens
ſign, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous
ions to widen differences, and ex-
perate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as
y make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God, I can not one with patience bear this, as other in gnities, but with Charity forgive them

The integrity of my intentions not jealous of an injury, my expr sions can do them, for although t confidence of privacy may admit gre ter freedome in writing such Letter which may be liable to envious exce ptions; yet the *Innocency* of m chief purposes cannot be so obtaine or mis-interpreted by them, as not let all men see, that *I* wish nothin more then an happy composure of di ferences with Justice and Honour, n more to my own, then my peoples con tent, who have any sparks of Love Loyalty left in them: who, by th my Letters may be convinced, that can both mind and act my own, an my Kingdomes Affairs, so as become a Prince, which mine Enemies ha alwayes been very loth should be be lieved of me, as if *I* were wholly con fined to the Dictates and Dire ctions of others; whom they plea to brand with the names of Evi Counsellours.

It

Its propable ſome men will now
k upon me as my own Counſellour,
having none elſe to quarrell with
ter that notion, they will hereafter
fine their anger to my ſelf: Al-
ough I knew they are very unwilling
ould enjoy the liberty of my own
oughts, or follow the light of my
n Conſcience, which they labour
bring into an abſolute captivity to
mſelves; not allowing me to think
r Counſels to be other then good
me, which have ſo long maintained
War againſt me.

The Victory they obtained that
y, when my Letters became their
ze, had been enough to have ſatia-
d the moſt ambitious thirſt of po-
ar glory among the Vulgar; with
om proſperity gains the greateſt
eem and applauſe; as adverſity ex-
oſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and
reſpect: As if good fortune were
aies the ſhadow of Virtue and
ſtice, and did not oftner atttend vi-
ous and injurious actions, as to this
orld.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem

sufficient to that cause, which be
with Tumults, and depends chiefly
on the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effe
all to their designs as those, that
rout and waste my Credit with
People; in whose hearts they seek
all means to smother and extin
all sparks of Love, Respect and L
alty to me, that they may never kin
again, so as to recover mine,
Laws, and the Kingdomes Liber
which some men seek to overthro
The taking away of my Credit, is
a necessary preparation to the tak
away of my Life, and my Kin
domes; First I must seem neithe
to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By
quisite methods of cunning and cru
ty, I must be compelled, first to foll
the Funeralls of my Honour, and th
be destroyed: But *I* know Gods
erring and impartiall Justice can,
will over-rule the most perverse wi
and designs of men; He is able,
(I hope) will turn even the worst
mine Enemies thoughts and actio
to my good.

N

Nor do I think, that by the sur-
e of my Letters, I have lost any
e then so many papers: How much
have lost of that reputation, for
lity and Humanity (which ought
e paid to all men, and most be-
es such as pretend to Religion) be-
s that of respect and Honour,
ch they ow to their KING, present,
after-times will judge. And I
not think that their own conscien-
e so stupid, as not to inflict up-
them some secret impressions of
shame and dishonour, which at-
s all unworthy actions, have they
er so much of publick flatterie, and
pular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the
ine approbation of such indecent
tions, if they do but remember how
od blest the modest respect and fili-
tenderness, which *Noahs* Sons bare
their Father; nor did his open infir-
itie justifie *Chams* impudencie, or ex-
pt him from that curse of being
ervant of Servants; which curse must
eeds be on them who seek by disho-
ourable actions to please the Vulgar,

and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intention be ever either excusable, or prosperous who thought by this means to expose me, to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting the duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any reall uncomelineſſe; which, thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a Vile Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any Notion of Majeſty.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of human affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of

Achito-

Achitophel, turning it to Davids good, and his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People.

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anoynted.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment

of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me; who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given me three Kingdomes, yet in these He hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself

himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may disarm and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they

mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be My chiefeſt Guard; and My Conſcience both My Counſellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve My Soul to God, and My ſelf; nor ſhall any neceſſities compell Me, to deſert Mine Honour, or ſwerve from My Judgement.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deſert Me of all Military power to defend My ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe, that have Adhered to Me, and apply to thoſe that

that have Oppoſed Me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous, than that of Warre, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for My Friends ſafety, than Mine own; chuſing to venture My ſelf upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to go over, then to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up My Souls liberty, or make My Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded My conſent to their new demands.

I thank God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought

to

to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelf weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not morosity to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe than my ſelf while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelf.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battel, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon. Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Me.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwaies accompany Me, in My greateſt ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of My Soul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my waies to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essays, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough

enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees it is fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my ſoul in ſin; nor gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power: ſince my Soul is ſtill my own: nor ſhall they ever gain my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Relgion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

Tis evident now, that it was not evill Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend

tend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me; not more a King, and far lesse both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare; nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul: Better others betray me, than my self: and that the price of my liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy My self and Mine.

Al-

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to Me, as the peace of my conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People, which my Word may injure more than any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Laws will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſterities thraldome.

After times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not, and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them: happily I might redeem my

my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitly good, and great, art with Me, whose presence is better than life; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Own Me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse Me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou suffereſt Me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve Me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self; and which, cannot be taken from Me against My will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over My passion to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There

There be many ſay of Me, there is no no help for Me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance, upon Me, and I ſhall neither want ſafety, liberty, nor Majeſty.

Give Me that meaſure of patience and Conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, My expectation from Men defeated, My Perſon reſtrained: O be not thou farre from Me, leſt My Enemies prevail too much againſt Me.

I am become a wonder, and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon Me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldſt have Me.

Be mercifull to Me, O Lord, for my Soul truſteth in thee: yea and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill theſe calamities be overpaſt.

Ariſe to deliver Me, make no long

tarri-

tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vail and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majeſtie the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other civill comforts and ſecular attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of My Chaplains; whom for the Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have cauſe to love. By their learning, pietie, and praiers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wilderness to my temptations: For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactours; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damne their Souls.

But My Agony must not be relieved

lieved with the presence of any one good Angell; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such *I* would have all Mine to be.

They that envie My being a King, are loth I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my *S*oul.

Other sense, Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannesse of those denialls might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and pietie which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present comforters or Physicians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for

for that devotionall compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charitie.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience: but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocencie, to dispair of Gods mercy; and by justifiing their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded my own Interests,

terests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although *I* am very unhandsomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for my sufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pitie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for my speciall Attendants, who were best approved in my Judgement, and most sutable to my affection, For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens praiers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In

In Devotions, I love neither prophane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate both of Gods Majeſty, the Churches honour, and his own Vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf, & others. I am equaly ſcandalized with all praiers, that ſound either imperiouſly, rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyn my heart unto, than *I* can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which I do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions, ſo *I* allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements, where neither the ſolemnity of the du-

ty, nor the modeſt regard to others do require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to allequall minds with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet Chatechized, nor aquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-praier ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Govern-

ment,

ent, and Liturgy of this Church. But, had rather be condemned to the wo *Væ soli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hy-critis*, by seeming to pray what *I* do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my De-fers sufficient of My self to discharge my duty to GOD as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture. Nor could *I* follow better presidents, if *I* were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one as for devout Psalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly pla-ced, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitly more glorious to convert Souls to Gods

Church by the Word, than to conque
men by to a subjection by the Swor
Yet since the order of Gods wi
dome and providence hath, for t
most part, alwaies distinguished th
gifts and offices of Kings, of Priest
of Princes and Preachers; both in th
Jewish and Christian Churches:
am sorry to find My self reduced t
the necessity of being both, or enjo
ing neither.

For such as seek to deprive me
Kingly Power and Soveraignty; woul
no lesse enforce me to live ma
Months without all Praiers, Sac
ments, and Sermons, unlesse I becom
my own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergie the protectio
of a Christian KING, so I desire t
enjoy from them the benefit of th
gifts and praiers; which I look up
as more prevalent then my own,
other mens; by how much they flo
from minds more enlightned and affe
ctions lesse distracted, than tho
which are encombred with secular a
fairs: besides, I think a greater bl
sing and acceptableness attends th

ries, which are rightly performed, proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to GOD, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet as the Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, *I* think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and *I* think more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to my spirituall defects makes me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them no-

thing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny me, than this of having some means afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but onely this, that they may seem too able and too well affected toward me and my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more regret and impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my Servants: and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenlie and eternall improvements may be expected. My

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct My now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkness, and quicken My dulness.

O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulness; From thee all sufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in

me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and misimproving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy

thy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruized Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; in which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denialls of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine ear to me; who art a God eaſie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not bear; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help Me thy deſolate Supplyant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou

hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) dayly offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe saving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my

my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsome food for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whose mouths are prone to bitter reproches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how wilfully they wrest thy holy Scripture to My destruction, (which are clear for their direction, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens balmes break my head, nor their Cordialls oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words, O deliver Me, O Lord, and all those soul and Religious hearts, who desire

and

and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KINGS solitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of my supplication when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? But their is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sinnes before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonall and my Peoples ſins, which are ſo far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy overruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained My Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come far ſhort of Davids *piety; yet ſince I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evills, which I and my Kingdomes have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me, have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged,

larged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not yet to be turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still; Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house: as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and My Kingdomes; in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and setling thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever owe as the rightfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of my Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety, and honour, to My chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish & protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind: so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnesty, and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my praier O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my praier, nor taken his mercie from me.

O my ſoul, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affairs, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practiſe will ſerve that man, who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Partie where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, than in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins which lately one wonb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevail againſt the elder; what the Preſbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of Union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and ſounds too like the furie of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe

and

and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Libertie of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to laws, are become the greatest Exactours of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carrie on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custodie, without any Commission, but that of their own will

will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a KING, must not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſigne they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the Citie: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuarie motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſinne in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Juſtice; they that by Tumuls firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſinne, but adde ſinne to ſinne, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertours, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament men: now the Fliers from, and forsakers of their Places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Armie: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettours of tumultuarie insolencies, and Betraiers of the freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is power above all Rule, Order and Law: where men look more to present Advantages, than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds

holds good, the Authours and Abbettours of them are guiltie of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends, and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pitie: for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyaltie to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of my praiers and tears, with compaſſionate grief, fore-ſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſinnes; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquitie are not farre from becoming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder than to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of Reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publick conſiſtencie; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall

ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, than to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publick peace that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them than my ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo farre eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain My ſelf, My Laws, and My Kingdomes, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the strivings of My People, and make Me to see how much they need My praiers and pity, who agreed to fight against Me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of My Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Laws.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make Me even such as thou would'st have me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquility which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to

add

adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffer-

ed, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied Me in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for Me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not My bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by My sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, than of mans cruelty or thy own justice.

27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and my most impartiall thoughts touching the chief passages, which have

have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious and the best use can be made; and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when *I* find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of my self, and usefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure my Cause by the Successe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which *I* count the greater by farre, because they have so farre lighted upon you, and some others, whom *I* have most cause to love as well as my self; and of whose unmerited sufferings *I* have a greater sense then of mine own.

But this advantage of Wisedome you have above most Princes; that you

have begun and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees set in winter) then in the warmth, and serenity of times, or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour; or to be contented onely with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* & *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdome, the other softned by the unparalel'd prosperitie of *Salomons* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, & Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from

from Prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in summer; whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign disposer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the

Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civil Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Center of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well-grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written,

written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens customs or tradition, which you profesſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be not more neceſſary for your ſouls then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours,

under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe & charity quite remove the ſeeming differences

and

and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their interest is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may hear from them *Jacobs* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years; so compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State as to mens judgements: but as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected mart, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference

difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſter: till time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming & effectuall ſuppreſſing Errours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a handbredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will

will depend, and move, is, that of civill Justice, wherein the setled Laws of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety, to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being

being nothing worse than legall Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of martyrdome, as to the testimony of My own Conscience: The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very

very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retain in My ſoul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will; My counſell and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſell, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf,

ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant and impartiall to the intereſts of your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſſe, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors who are commonly aſſiſted by the vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths, (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodneſſe both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain you the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer waies of virtue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to me)

and

and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any designs (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety and virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so you shall neither fear any detection, (as

(as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous conſtancie of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall by the Sunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of Your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences; than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrones and Vindicatours of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts, and clemencie to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnitie, and

and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an act of State policie and necessitie, but of Christian charitie and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and *I* thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperitie can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse; have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loiall and faithfull to Me and You, than those Subjects,

jects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie ſets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your owne merits upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyaltie from them, and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You; both which I hope You will ſtudie to deſerve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoy-

ments,

ments, which the Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunitie, when *I* shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own Honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if You never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me; I do require and intreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Communitie, Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle

dle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtick Anarchie.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a life and gentle hand: if ſome mens precipitancie had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beautie and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to You againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutour of this late Warre againſt the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Praiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples. Tis

Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Factions (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true pietie, both of them are to be known by their fruits: the sweetnesse of the Wine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments: which in the right constitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyaltie, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this blacke Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates and tumultuary impressi-

impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) since the publick interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Counsels in common, enacting all things by publick consent; without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or en-

joying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of Your honour will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse me with so many hopefull Children; all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My praier to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by Your wisdome, justice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickednesse of some men have

ave so farre ruined, as to leave no-
ing entire in Church or State; to the
Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or
e Commons; either as to Laws, Li-
erties, Estates, Order, Honour, Con-
ience, or lives.

When they have destroyed me, (for
know not how farre God may per-
it the malice and cruelty of my E-
mies to proceed, and such apprehen-
ons some mens words and actions
ave already given me) as I doubt
t but my bloud will cry aloud for
ngeance to heaven; so I beseech God
t to poure out his wrath upon the
nerality of the People, who have
ther deserted me, or ingaged against
e, through the artifice and hypocri-
of their Leaders, whose inward hor-
ur will be their first Tormenter,
r will they escape exemplary judge-
ents.

For those that loved me, I pray
od, they may have no misse of me,
hen I am gone; so much I wish and
pe, that all good Subjects may be
isfied with the blessings of Your
ste nce and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so *I* believe You will find them truly zealous, to repay with interest that loyaltie and love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, do You perform; when God shall give You power: much good *I* have offered, more *I* purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, *I* hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyaltie to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse You, and esta-

blish

lish Your Kingdomes in righteouſ-
neſſe, Your Soul in true Religion, and
Your honour in the love of God and
Your people.

And if God will have diſloyalty
erfected by my deſtruction; let my
emory ever, with my name, live in
ou; as of Your Father, that loves
ou: and once a KING of three
ouriſhing Kingdomes; whom God
ought fit to honour, not onely with
he Scepter and Government of them,
ut alſo with the ſuffering many indi-
nities, and an untimely death for
em; while I ſtudied to preſerve the
ghts of the Church, the power of
e Laws, the honour of my
rown, the priviledge of Parliaments,
he liberties of my People, and my
wn Conſcience, which, I thank God,
dearer to me than a thouſand King-
omes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will
ſtore me to my Rights. I cannot de-
air either of his mercy, or of my
eoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go be-
ore You to a better Kingdome, which

God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties *closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrook-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon and prepare for My Death: For I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the space, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other

other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against Me makes their own lifes seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of Mortality:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipse, which ofs happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it are dispelled; and the speciall horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at present may justly be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those things, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled

them out; or given Me the antidote of his Death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christians life to *die dayly*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us to overlive our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of deerest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though,

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of wearinesse of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yield much sweetnesse to those, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death; in the strength of My years; in the midst of My Kingdomes; My Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spec-

Spectatours; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrours of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddennesse of a barbarous Assasination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruell) will, it may be seek to adde (as those did, who Crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice:

Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make My death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much lesse against Me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraign; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding My bloud seem to wash their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own consciences too, while

while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My self with the Church and State by My Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive

thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrones of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud

loud cry of My bloud, shall make them them think no way better to expiate it than by shedding theirs, who with them most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those, I have lived to see since My troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed death in the victory of his Resurrection and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousnesse sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and

victory

victory over My Destroyers: By which I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs bloud to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seems to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactour, of what they please to call Justice, while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by My danger, and the security of their lives designs by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hand by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death

death are embrued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy I believe, will more then infinitly recompence what ever wrongs injustice he is pleased to derive me of.

The glory attending my death will far surpasse all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdome with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know

know the sharp and necessary Tyranny of my Destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyranny against me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who do not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for Me.

These know, how to excuse my failings as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to me as their King, there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitly to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer temper, and lesse advantaged by my ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences, where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill dealings against me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope

hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of Divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authorities: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designes against Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunall I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and my causelesse Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians)

stians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause and clearnesse of My Conscience before God and toward My people will carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayles of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracie and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour

of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just libertie of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends: while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrows attending this miserable life; wherewith these dare, *I* might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me, for whom I have hitherto suffered: As he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for

for all which, I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept: and although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of other sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sinne be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain, that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them

hem, may not be revenged by Gods
ſt. inflicting eternall death upon
em: for I look upon the temporall
ſtruction of the greateſt King, as
re leſſe deprecable, than the eternall
mnation of the meaneſt Subject.
Nor do I wiſh other, than the ſafe
nging of the ſhip to ſhore, when they
ve caſt me overboard; though it be
y ſtrange, that Mariners can find
other means to appeaſe the ſtorm,
mſelves have raiſed, but by drown-
their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelties
not prevent my preparation; whoſe
alice in this I ſhall defeat, that they
ll not have the ſatisfaction to have
ſtroyed my Soul with my body, of
oſe ſalvation, while ſome of them
re themſelves ſeemed, and taught
hers to deſpair, they have onely
covered this, that they do not much
ire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruell Re-
aints, denying me even the aſſiſtãce
ny of my Chaplains, hath rather
arged, than any way obſtructed my
ſſe to the Throne of Heaven.

where

where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the Foumain of eternall Life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou O God art both the juſt Afflicter of death upon us, and the merciſull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee, than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord will be with Me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man: to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almightie and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with Me, as a Man: make Me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee My God.

Thou

Though I die, yet I know, that thou My Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slaiest Me, yet thou hast incouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers to thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall contrive my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught Me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not My will, but Thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in Me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the errours of my death.

Make me content to leave the world nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many that crucified him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for my Murtherers, louder then the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercie by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, which the con-

science

ſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power againſt me, chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.

O Lord, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruell; who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirſty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for My bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinit mercie at laſt receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall in-

to the arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaied in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.